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THE
THOUGHTS
OF A

Country Gentleman

Upon Reading

Dr. *Sacheverell's*

TRYAL.

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Dr. Sackville's

TRIAL.

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Upon Reading
Dr. Sacheverell's
TRYAL.
IN A
LETTER to a Friend.

The Second Edition.

Vestrum, Accusatores, alii Anseres sunt, qui tantummodo clamant, nocere non possunt: alii canes, qui & latrare & mordere possunt. Vos autem maxime debetis in eos impetum facere, qui merentur; hoc Populo Gratissimum est: deinde, si voletis, etiam cum, cum verisimile sit aliquem commisisse, in suspitione latratore: quod si tantummodo sine suspitione latrabit, sic ageris, ut postea neminem nisi fortunas vestras accusare possitis.

—Cicer. pro Sext. Rosc. Am.

L O N D O N:

Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of London
and Westminster, 1710.

THE
THOUGHTS
OF A
Country Gentleman
Upon Reading
Dr. Sachseverell's
TRIAL
IN A
LETTER to a Friend.

The Second Edition.

It is a great pleasure to me to find that the
first edition of this little treatise has been
so soon sold out. I am sensible that it is
not a very important subject, but I thought
it might be useful to some of my friends.
I have therefore printed a second edition.
I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
J. D. W.

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of London
and Westminster, 1710.

S I R,



YOU left me, you may remember, under very eager Expectations of the *Tryal*; and you perceiv'd, how great a Pleasure I had promis'd my self in reading, what I could not have the good Fortune to hear. I thought I could not have rais'd my Imaginations too high: for I look'd upon the *Impeachment* itself as a Matter of the greatest Weight and Consequence; the Subject of it being more extensive, and bringing more of the Constitution into Debate, than any *Tryal* we ever yet had in *England*. The Commons, I saw, had right Apprehensions of its Importance; and therefore they order'd the chief Lea-

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ders

ders to carry on the Prosecution : Not a *Confiding* Man, who had any Character for speaking, or indeed so much as us'd to speak in the *House*, tho' but to make or second a Motion, but was appointed a *Manager*. Above half of them were bred to the Bar : The Nursery of *English* Oratory must, I thought, have furnish'd them with Talents, that would shine in a popular Pleading.

Such select Prosecutors, such solemn Preparations, in a Charge of so high a Nature, could not but raise my Impatience and my Hopes to see the Antient Spirit reviv'd ; to see that Strength of Reasoning, and Force of Eloquence, exerted in our Language, which *Demosthenes* and *Tully* shew'd in the *Greek* and the *Roman* : especially when the *Accusing* Side has so many Advantages in speaking (among which *Quintilian* observes the bringing their Speeches ready made, not to be the least) that it has always been allow'd by the best Judges of Rhetorick, That Orators of

Lib. 5. c. 13

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a middle Size are sufficient to manage an Impeachment with Reputation. So great a Field to display his Oratory has the *Plantiff*, that the same judicious Au- *Ibid.* thor, we just now mention'd, makes as great a Difference in this Case between him and the *Defendant*, as there is between making a Wound and Curing it.

These Considerations made me expect great Things from the *Managers*. I sat down to read with great Attention; nor did I question, but that, whatever Guard I had upon myself, strong Impressions would be made upon my Passions, as well as my Judgment.

And since you desire my Opinion of these Performances, I shall give it you with that Freedom, with which You and I are us'd to communicate our Thoughts to one another.

I am apt to think, that in Matters of Harrangue, the Images, that first occur to us, are the most Natural, and

consequently the Truest ; and therefore I cannot convey to You my Ideas of these Speeches, as far as the Inclinations and Passions are concern'd, in a better way, than by representing in order to You, what State I found my Mind in, whether in *Emotion* or *Tranquility*, during the whole Course of my Reading. After I have done this, I shall tell you what I apprehend to have been the Design of the whole Prosecution, as far as I can collect it from what the *Managers* have said ; and compare the present Proceedings of the Party that promoted it, with those in a *former* Reign.

In the first *Opening* the Case I met with nothing, that much offended me, The Gentleman gives us a plain Narrative, without any Affectation of Elegancy, or Method, or Connexion : And tho' he had such a memorable occasion to set forth his Eloquence, yet he thinks (and perhaps right) that no Words of his can aggravate the Offence, and therefore prudently leaves

Trial, p. 17.

p. 16.

leaves it to aggravate its self. I little dreamt of being *becalm'd* at my first Launching out; but from first to last he flows on in so easy and gentle a Course, that he as little affects the Reader, as he hurts the Criminal. A *Proceeding* seldom *pra-* P. 16.
dis'd among Men of Honour, that are to go first upon an Attack, unless it be a Feint, and no Storm design'd; which I dare say was not the Case here. But Force and Argument are not the Talents of every Orator: The Want of these I could have dispens'd with, if he had not been so minute and frivolous in the *Instructive* part. It was Tiresome to me to go over all the previous Steps taken by the *Commons*, which I had read before in the *Votes*, so much better express'd by Mr. *Jodrell*. Yet I was now and then reliev'd by a Smile upon some of those wise Observations offer'd to the Lords, *That there are* P. 20,
Laws to punish Spreaders of HORRIBLE STORIES upon great Men, lest their Lordships should be ignorant, that there was such a thing as

a Statute of *Scandalum Magnatum*—

P. 17. That *their Lordships* may imagine the
Commons order'd an *Impeachment*; and

P. 16. that, *when the whole Commons* of Great-
 Britain are *Prosecutors*, it must be agreed
their Lordships are the proper *Judges*.

Two Points, which I believe their
 Lordships had no doubt of, when they
 were sitting in their Robes in *West-*
minster-Hall. But I am apt to think
 their Lordships were not so clear in
 the Passage that follows these, where
 they are told, *Their Lordships* will perceive
 by *PERUSAL* of the Sermons, that they
 had, *SINCE* the Printing thereof, been
handed about with more than ordinary Ap-
plication. *To be handed about with more*
than ordinary Application, is a very Ex-
 traordinary Expression, if I were at
 leisure to remark upon Language. But
 that the Sermons were *handed about*,
 and that this was done rather *after* they
 were printed than *before*, I easily al-
 low'd, because I am told the Bookseller
 printed a *Hundred Thousand* of them for
 this very purpose. But how their
 Lordships should PERCEIVE all

this

this by *P E R U S A L* of the Sermons, I could not imagine, tho' I have a very great Opinion of their Lordship's Sagacity.

In some of the next empty pompous Pages, I thought I had met with the Ghost of Mr. *Strode*, one of the *Ephori* in 40. who *most avow'd the Curbing and Suppressing of Majesty*: With his usual *Fierceness* he seem'd to brandish the *Original Contract* in his Hand, and in his Mouth had a Label with the *Indispensible Duty of Resistance*. THE ANCI-
 ENT VIRTUE OF THAT ENGLISH-MAN EXERTED ITSELF, AND SHONE OUT IN FULL LUSTRE IN THIS GLORIOUS WORK. My Ears were stun'd with the Din of strong Words, so familiar to this full-mouth'd Pleader. I found him every where stretching his Throat with *Constitution, Original, Fundamental, Essential, Eternal*: Terms which he commonly throws out loosely and at random; but whenever he attempts to apply them, or form any Argument
 with

with them, he is sure to add Nonsense to his Noise. One Instance of this kind will be as much, as you can bear.

- P. 22. *The Nature*, says he, *of our Constitution is that (i. e. the Nature) of a Limited Monarchy.* Can these Words possibly carry any Meaning in them? Let us however allow him to mean, that by our Constitution the Power of the Crown is limited. He goes on, *The Terms of such a Constitution express an Original Contract.* What are the *Terms of a Constitution*? I must make out a Meaning for him again, before he can be understood. As far as I can guess, what he aims at is this, That the Power of the Crown being limited, implies an Original Contract, agreed upon by the mutual Consent of Prince and People: And was this allow'd him, yet he blunders on, and confounds all again; for he says, this *Original Contract is an Eternal Truth.* So little does he understand the Subject he speaks of, or the Words he speaks in, that he does not see a Contradiction in Terms. It mov'd my Indignation to see
- Ibid.
- P. 23.

see *Sound* and *Forehead* in this false Orator pass for *Argument*, and *Treason* for *Liberty of Speech*.

The Name that leads up the Van of the *second Day*, rais'd my Imagination to a great Height : What could be naturally expected from one of *Character* and *Station* in his Profession, from one ally'd to the best *Pen* the *Long Robe* can boast of, what but the united Force of Law and Eloquence ? I had before met with nothing but what I expected ; but here, I confess, I was extremely disappointed. 'Twas indeed some Ease to me, to be reliev'd a little from Sonorous Language ; but the manner of Arguing, methought, continu'd in the same Strain. From *Eternal Truths* the Scene was only chang'd to *Self-evident Truths*. *It is Self-evident that the Honour* ^{P. 47.} *of Her Majesty's Government stands upon the Justice of the Revolution.* This Proposition I thought to be the most disputable one, and to carry the least Conviction with it, of any that ever set up for *Self-evidence*. But if it be *Self-*
C *evident,*

evident, why have several of these ingenious Disputants taken so much useless Pains to *prove* it? Since Men of their Learning may be presum'd to know, that a *Self-evident* Proposition is so far from wanting a Proof, that it is not capable of any. There is a Consequence of this Gentleman's, that has a much better Title to *Self-evidence*, than this *Maxim* of his can pretend to. I should not be just to him, if I did not mention it: because the whole Stress of his Argument against those, who deny the *Justice of the Revolution*, depends upon it. He proceeds in the Rational way, and lays down his Principles: That *the Law is the Measure of the Prince's Authority, and the People's Subjection*; and that *The Law has its Being and Efficacy from Common Consent*: And then comes that terrible Consequence, that is for ever to silence and confound all the Patrons of *Non-Resistance*. For to place *the Law, the Measure of the Prince's Authority, and the People's Subjection, upon any other Foundation than Common Consent, is to take away the Obligation*

ligation this Notion of Common Consent puts both Prince and People under to observe the Laws. The Sequel is undeniable; but it is a little clouded by the Length of the Expression: 'Twill be clearer, if we put it in shorter Terms, as thus; If our Obligation to Obedience is founded upon Common Consent, than to take away Common Consent, is to take away the Obligation, upon which our Obedience is founded. Or thus in other Terms the Consequence may still appear more Evident; If a Building is supported by a Prop, then to take away the Prop, is to take away what supports the Building. What can be more solidly and clearly argu'd? And yet if any one should be so perverse, as to deny the Supposition, That the Building is supported by a Prop, then, tho' the Prop were taken away, the Building might stand; but the Argument indeed will fall to the Ground: and all the Demonstration, by which this profound Reasoner establishes the Justice of Resistance, is at last reduc'd to what the Learned call begging the Question. The Rest of his Speech I

had before read in the *Observer*, and it was nauseous to me to swallow the same indigested Crudities, that had given me Qualms every *Wednesday* and *Saturday* for some Years.

Changing my Company little mended the Matter. I have heard often, that when Men once part with their Principles, it's no unusual thing for them at the same time to lose their Sense too. However I could not but feel some Pity in myself, to see so active a Patriot of his Country dwindle into a flat insipid *Expositor* of a Sermon.

At Page 59. I was surpriz'd to find myself in the midst of the *Leviathan*, instead of a Parliamentary Harrangue. Here indeed was a Multitude of Nervous Observations, that Man was made in a State of Perfection; and the Rectitude of that State supposes the absence of all those Crimes, which are the Objects of Government, and which Government is to reform; and therefore Government could not be one End of Man's Creation; Or there could be

be no such thing, as Government in the State of Perfection. Tho', if the *Scripture* could have as much Credit with this Philosophical Speaker, as Mr. *Hobbes* has; he might have found there, that Man was born God's Subject, that he Actually receiv'd Commands from God in the State of Perfection, and was invested by his Creator with the Dominion over all the Earth. And I fancy this acute Gentleman would be hard put to it to find out a Scheme, in which Dominion and Subjection might subsist without Government. The Whole seem'd to be a Discourse not yet arriv'd to its full Growth, something between a Boy and a Man.

After I had gone a Page or two further, I was again overwhelm'd with a mighty Torrent of strong Expressions; and I quickly discover'd I was reading a Charm, made up of a String of Words p. 62. that never met together before; and so design'd, I suppose, to Fascinate: In one Sentence, I met with Trumpet—Sion p. 61.
—Pulpit—Cudgels—gilded Pill—
Religion

Religion——*Divinity*——*Morality* ; in the next, with *sap*——*undermine*——*Foundations*——*Natural Basis*——*Fundamental Strength*——*underfet with Imaginary Props and Buttresses, which do at best but ill support a shaken Foundation*——*striking at the Root*——*digging up Foundations*——The Words, I perceiv'd, were all to be Pronounc'd in a *Breath*, which I being not able to do, could not find out, what might be the secret Virtue of this *Inchantment*.

P. 64.

Out of *Witchcraft* I fell, methoughts, into *Hieroglyphicks* : For tho' the Gentleman at the Entrance is so kind to himself, as to say, he takes a *Method* in his Speech, and that he thinks *somewhat to the Purpose*, after a few Lines I began to suspect the Language had been changed upon me ; it was to me all *Egyptian* and *Ethiopick* : and I was so far from having any of my *Passions* engag'd, that with all the Study I could employ, I could not come at the Meaning of a Syllable. At last, after having perplex'd myself a long while in vain, I found
'twas

'twas only some *Rubbage*, with which he P. 63.
has an *Excellent Talent at Puzzling com-*
mon Sense ; and that all which had been
said, was compriz'd in this clear and
elegant Conclusion, That if the Force P. 70.
before the Revolution, which suppress'd Her
Majesty's Hereditary Right to the Crown,
had not been remov'd by the Revolution, as
'twas, Her Majesty's Title would never
have been able to have exerted itself ; and
if ever the Doctor, or any of his Accomplices
should ever be able so to shock the Revoluti-
on, as to Remove what Built upon it, that
Force, which the Revolution remov'd, will
return again, and oppress the Queen's Title
to the Crown, as it did before. A Sen-
tence, that for the Energy of the Sense,
and the Beauty of Expression, ought to
be writ in *Letters of Gold!* Indeed, I
must own, the Orator a little touch'd
me, when he came to the *Aggravating* Ibid.
Circumstances of the Prisoner's Crime,
in Preaching his Sermon at *St. Paul's*.
1st. Because 'twas Preach'd by a Divine of
the Church of England, as by Law Esta-
blish'd (for if a Dissenter had Preach'd at
St. Paul's, 'twould, no doubt, have been
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very far from being a *High Crime* and *Misdemeanour*.) 2ly. *Because 'twas Preach'd in the Cathedral Church of the Metropolis of this Kingdom*; and not only so, but, 3ly. *Before the Lord-Mayor, and Court of Aldermen of the City of London*. These *Circumstances* indeed began to have their Influence with me; but when I consider'd, that *Henry Sacheverell D. D. in Episcopal Orders*, when he was appointed to Preach at *St. Paul's* before the Magistrates of the City, could not possibly avoid any one of the said *three Circumstances*, they left no deep Impression upon me to the Doctor's Prejudice.

Proceeding further, I saw the Names of *Hooker, Grotius, Tully, Aristotle, Atterbury*. This pompous Appearance made me immediately fancy, I should be now entertain'd with some refin'd Thoughts, some Depths of Learning. But the Scraps of those Excellent Authors serv'd only to shew their own Inimitableness, and expose the Declamation they were tagg'd to. Indeed

deed these *Purple Patches* quite put me out of conceit with the *Coat*: And the *Soldier* might have pass'd Muster much better, had it not been for the Affectation of the *Scholar*. The Close of this Learned Harrangue, which proposes, *what Doctrines of this kind shall or* p. 77. *shall not be preach'd* by the Clergy, put me in mind of those blessed Days, when the Church was under the Direction of *Lieutenant-Generals*: That sort of *Hierarchy*, I think, did not prove so *safe* and *flourishing*, as to make any good Man wish, the Church should ever again be *Militant* in that sense.

From hence I advanc'd in a Spirit, very full of Moderation, without any sensible Disorder, to *Page 83*. where I began to recollect what I had heard of some Mistake in the Delivery of this Speech: And I am inclin'd to believe the Blunder still remains in the *Print of the Book*. In the Edition I have^{p. 62.} 88 by me, it runs thus ;

D My

M^T Lords, the Charge against the Doctor in this Second Article is a Crime of a very heinous Nature: It has always been esteem'd one of the happy Consequences of the late Revolution, that her Majesty's Protestant Subjects, by a Legal Indulgence granted to Dissenters, were united in Interest and Affection, in the Defence of Her Majesty's Sacred Person and Government.

It is too well known, my Lords, how in former times, when Popery had almost prevail'd in the Ruin of our State and Church, the Protestants of the Kingdom were, by the Artifice of Papists, set against each other, that by such Divisions Popish Tyranny might be Established amongst us.

The Act of Parliament, made in the first Year of the Reign of their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary, to exempt Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England from the Penalties of certain Laws, was made to defeat any such
future

future Attempts of the Papists ; The Preamble of the Act declares, that some Ease to scrupulous Consciences in the Exercise of Religion, may be an effectual Means to unite H E R Majesty's Protestant Subjects in Interest and Affection.

We have seen, my Lords, the good Effects of the Wisdom of the Legislature in making this Act, Her Majesty's Protestant Subjects are now all easie under Her Administration ; and how many Dissenters have we seen, who since the Toleration are become sincere Converts to the Church, And I may say, that by this Toleration the Prejudices of the Dissenters in general wear off, and their Number daily decreases.

And yet with what odious Colours, and Language unbecoming a Divine, do's the Doctor paint out this Toleration, and how does he factiously endeavour to excite and stir up People against it ?

'Tis, my Lords, a poor Shift which the Doctor makes in his Answer, that he knows of no Toleration granted by Law ; and yet in the same Answer he owns, there is an Indulgence, which the Government hath condescended to give Dissenters. My Lords, The Word Indulgence is no more in the Act of Parliament, than the Word Toleration ; and it is well known that the Act of Parliament he alludes to is every where, not only in Courts of Justice, but even in Parliament, called The Toleration Act ; and is frequently so called by your Lordships, in the Account of your Lordships Proceedings in Parliament, in Relation to the Bill against Occasional Conformity, which Account was Published and Printed by your Lordships Order.

When the Doctor says, that he has not been able to inform himself that a Toleration hath been granted by Law, it plainly seems to import, as if the Doctor doubted of the Authority of the Parliament, that made that Law ; it looks like the common Sophistry

phistry of Papiſts and Jeſuits, who pretend to own the Church of England as by Law Eſtabliſh'd ; becauſe they diſown the Authority of all our Laws made ſince the Reformation.

My Lords, Her Majeſty hath always been pleaſed graciously to declare, She will defend this Toleration, and this Her Gracious Reſolution has, among the innumerable Bleſſings of Her Reign, united all Her Proteſtant Subjects in their Loyalty and Duty to Her.

The Commons reſt aſſured that your Lordſhips will always aſſiſt theſe Gracious Purpoſes of Her Majeſty ; and that as there can hardly be any Inſtance given of ſo Seditious and Barefaced an Attempt againſt the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, as the Doctör hath been guilty of, So your Lordſhips will, by an Exemplary Punishment ſuitable to ſo high a Crime, vindicate the Authority of Parliaments, and give an effectual Diſcouragement for the Future, to all ſuch Turbulent and Seditious Preachers.

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The Paragraphs seem to be quite inverted. *Jacob* has us'd them, as he does his *two Left Legs*. The Natural Order of them must certainly be, as I have here replac'd them; and which I am told since by a Gentleman of Credit, is, as far as he remembers, the same he happen'd to see in the Original at a certain Recorder's.

M^Y Lords, The Charge against the Doctor in this Second Article is a Crime of a very heinous Nature: It has always been esteem'd one of the happy Consequences of the late Revolution, that her Majesty's Protestant Subjects, by a Legal Indulgence granted to Dissenters, were united in Interest and Affection, in the Defence of Her Majesty's Sacred Person and Government.

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My Lords, Her Majesty hath always been pleased graciously to declare, She will defend this Toleration, and this Her Gracious Resolution has, among the innumerable Blessings of Her Reign, united all Her Protestant Subjects in their Loyalty and Duty to Her.

The Commons rest assured that your Lordships will always assist these Gracious Purposes of Her Majesty; and that as there can hardly be any Instance given of so Seditious and Barefaced an Attempt against the Peace and Quiet of the Kindom, as the Doctor hath been guilty of, So your Lordships will, by an Exemplary Punishment suitable to so high a Crime, vindicate the Authority of Parliaments, and give an effectual Discouragement for the Future, to
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And yet with what odious Colours, and Language unbecoming a Divine, do's the Doctor paint out this Toleration, and how does he factiously endeavour to excite and stir up People against it?

The Speech appears, you perceive, now in its true Beauty; the Transitions are more easy and natural, the Thread of Reasoning finer and closer; and it ends, tho' not at all Shorter, yet much Quicker. I must not forget to tell you, that the Gentleman I mention'd, could not inform me, whether the Words, HER MAJESTY's, &c. printed here as part of the *Preamble* of an Act made in the 1st Year of King William and Queen Mary, were in the Paper he saw, or no.

After this, a sort of *Drowsiness* stole upon me, which gradually I found increas'd, till at last I was startled out of it by a great *Splutter* and *Chattering*, which was made in *Page 92*, and ended in such an *impetuous Noise and bawling Oratory*, that the very Reading disturb'd my Head, and I almost wish'd myself lull'd asleep again.

No sooner had I pass'd thro' this *Hurrican*, but there open'd a more agreeable Scene, than I had yet seen. Not that I found even here any thing answerable to the Character of a great Orator: I saw nothing of the sublime, or copious way of Speaking, no flowing Style, no Roundness of Period, no masterly Skill in aggravating the Crime, or moving the Passions. However, there was a Subtlety of Reasoning, a Quickness of Expression, that would keep up the Attention of any Reader: There was something of the true Spirit of an *Accuser* in it; only there was one Circumstance wanting, which should be preserv'd in all Accusations, not to run too much upon the *Invective*. *Quin-* L. 6. 2.
tilian makes this wise Remark, That in *Impeaching*, we gain more by raising *Envy*, than by *Railing*: The former Method makes our Adversary hateful, and the latter ourselves. And 'twas with no ordinary Commotion of Mind, that I experienc'd the Truth of this Observation.

After this Discomposure, you may imagin, that 'twas no disagreeable a Variety to be brought into the Company of Courtiers ; who were so Civil and Well-bred , in avoiding to say any thing, which might raise such Storms in me again, that I possess'd my Soul in as soothing a *Rêverie*, as if I had been reading a *French* Tragedy.

I have here given you as short a Sketch as I could, of the different Turns my Passions took, in the Perusal of these Performances: You see how seldom they are rais'd ; and when they are, how little they go along with the *Speaker*. One of these, you know, is a certain Sign of indifferent Oratory ; and the other, of a bad Cause.

After I had gon thro' the Accusation, and came to the other part of the Tryal, I soon perceiv'd how the Scene was chang'd ; and was not less pleas'd than the Hero was, when he had left behind him the *Sons of Titan*, when he had pass'd by the Abode of the *Furies*——*Horrisono stridentes cardine portas*, and arriv'd at the happier Regions. At my
very

very Entrance into the *Defence*, another View was open'd to me ;

*Largior hic campos æther & lumine vestit
Purpureo*——

The Honour of the Crown, the Duty of the Subject, the Innocency of the Person accus'd, and the Conformity of his Doctrine to the Sence of the Church and of the State, was display'd and defended with that perfect Knowledge of the *English* Constitution, that Clearness of Reasoning, that Power of Eloquence, that Address to the noble Judicature, that in every Period I saw the Lawyer, the Orator, and the Gentleman. When I came to the End of the Speech, I was sorry 'twas no longer ; and before I went any further, was tempted to go over it again. Upon a *second* Reading, the masterly Disposition, and Conduct of the whole Argument, appear'd to me with more Advantage ; and the several Reflections here and there interspers'd, were more entertaining to me, when I observ'd how Proper they were in themselves, and how Properly they were plac'd, 'Twas a Pleasure

sure to me, to see how the Judicious
 Pleader avoided all that was Trivial,
 how many Mistakes of the Managers
 he pass'd over; and when he took no-
 tice of any, with how much Decency
 and Good-manners he touch'd upon
 them, and turn'd off quick to his Busi-
 ness again. But there was nothing I
 was more taken with, than the great
 Dexterity he shew'd in removing the
 Prejudices, and gaining upon the Minds
 of the Audience. Where the Point is
 nice, and he seems dubious, what Re-
 ception 'twould meet with, how skil-
 fully does he make his way to it? After
 he finds the way open to him, how ex-
 actly does he Judge, where he may give
 the Reins to his Eloquence, and where
 he is to stop? I was saying something
 after this manner to a Gentleman lately
 come into the Country; and he answer'd
 me, as *Æschines* did those, who commen-
 ded *Demosthenes's* Oration for *Ctesiphon*,
What would you say, had you heard
him speak? For surely, says he, never
 any thing was spoken to greater Advan-
 tage. The several Parts of his Speech
 were

were humour'd with all the proper Risings and Fallings of a very melodious Voice; and the Decorum of his Gesture was inimitable.

I have not room to do that Justice to the rest of the Council, as to enter into the Particulars of their Defence: But after the Ramblings and Ravings of some Orators, that went before them, their intelligible and rational way of Speaking and Arguing, was very agreeable to me. They stated the Objections fairly; and to my Apprehension, more clearly, than the Managers themselves had done: They pursu'd the Argument they propos'd, so that I never lost sight of the Question; a Misfortune that often happen'd to me in the former part of the Tryal. And as they kept close to their Point, so they preserv'd all due Regard to their Superiors, before whom they stood; and they were not too much over-aw'd by the Admonition, that one of the *Managers* gave them, *to have a Care what they said*; but spoke with that Freedom and Courage, that became the Patrons of a Good Cause. I

I would not pass over the Conclusion of the Defence, tho' I am at a loss how to explain the Impressions it made upon me. To me, the Doctor seem'd to shew an exquisite Judgment in chusing out such matter, as was proper for himself, rather than his Council, to insist upon; and to be no less Happy in the Choice and Propriety of his Words, than of his Thoughts. I scarce remember any thing I ever read with so much Attention and Pleasure; for there was the true Spirit and Genius of Ancient Eloquence, upon a Subject, in which my Mind was all the way thoroughly concern'd and engag'd. I will not pretend to point out the several Beauties and Excellencies of the Speech to You, who are so good a Judge of them: But give me leave to say, That, when the Doctor had, with great Modesty and Submission, describ'd the hard Circumstances he was under, when he had mov'd the Compassion of his Hearers, and got possession of their Minds, his rising afterwards into a steady Profession of his Principles, a just Contempt
of

of his Sufferings, and an Affectionate Zeal for the Church and the Constitution, was admirable, and had a wonderful Effect upon one of the most August Assemblies, that ever met in the World. For I hear the Passions of the Audience were so touch'd, that nothing could be more remarkable, except the Confusion that appear'd in the Countenances of his Accusers.

I have now acquainted You in what Humour I pass'd thro' the Tryal; give me leave now to ease my self of some Reflections, that I afterwards made upon the Performance of the *Managers*. You will not expect any Remarks, that regard the *Language*; that, you will find, will be an endless Work. None of their doubty Harangues, I presume, will ever be thought the Standard of the *English Tongue*, by any but *Foreigners*, and Writers of *Bibliothèques*. My Observations shall therefore be confin'd to the matter of their Speeches; and here too, I shall only single out such Arguments and Assertions, as may give the best Light into the

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Design

Design of the Prosecution, and into the Views of that Party, that so violently promoted it.

In the first place I can't but observe, that I find great Confusion and Contradiction among the *Managers* themselves, about several Points. It is above my Capacity, I must own, to reconcile 'em; and therefore I shall set them together, *Pro* and *Con*, and give them the same Liberty, as some of them had during the Tryal, to Explain themselves.

As to the Grounds of the Doctor's Impeachment, 'tis laid down in Page 17. That 'tis for *his making the chief Turn of his Discourse, to cry up Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience*: And p. 18. He did ill to *Preach up Passive Obedience* on the 5th of Novemb. when there was no occasion, at that time, to be so earnest to cry down Resistance. I thought always, that the 5th of November had been appointed, by our Law, for this very Purpose. But, it seems, this Gentleman thinks the *Blowing up of a Parliament-House* so slight a Thing, that there was no occasion, at that time, to cry down

down the Principles of those Men, who design'd it. And 'tis a High-Crime and Misdemeanour for a Clergy-man to cry down *Resistance* upon that Day, when he is guilty of a Breach of an *Act of Parliament*, if he does not Preach against *Rebellion*. It is a little unhappy, that this *Orator* should be so lost in his Tropes and Figures, as to forget his *Law*. But he goes on, and gives another Reason, *Why there was no occasion of Preaching thus at this time*. It must favour, he says, of some wicked Design, to be talking so unseasonably of this Subject, where the Preaching these Doctrines was needless. For there is certainly no occasion to Preach Non-Resistance to Her Majesty's Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, who have never shewn the least Inclination to give Disturbances to this present Government. I hope none of Her Majesty's Subjects have now any Inclination to disturb Her Government: But is it needless therefore to Preach up the Doctrine of Obedience, and confirm the Minds of the People in the Principles of Loyalty, so as they may never be inclin'd
for

for the future, to give Her any *Disturbances*? Supposing there were not one *Atheist* in *Southwark*, would it have been thought so *unseasonable*, as to *savour of some wicked Design*, if the Doctor had Preach'd against Irreligion and Infidelity? But Preaching Obedience at *this time* is so *Criminal*, that in p. 48. the Stress of all the Charge is laid upon *Reviving the Principles of unlimited Non-Resistance*; and the Question is ask'd Emphatically, *Can the Queen's Title receive any advantage from them? or can it be seasonable to Preach this Doctrine in the Reign of the Best of Princes, which can be of no use to any, but the worst?* These are *Political Paradoxes*, I confess, much above my Comprehension, how the *Principles of Non-Resistance* should be any *Disadvantage to the Queen's Title*; or how it should be *unseasonable* to Preach them up in the *Reign of the Best of Princes*. One would naturally imagin, that if ever this Doctrine could be *seasonable*, it must be in a *good Reign*.

Thus

Thus far, we see, the Reason of the Impeachment is grounded upon the Doctor's Preaching this Doctrine *at this time*. Tho' one of these Orators, in another place, says, *That this Delinquent is now brought to the Bar, to put a Stop to these Malicious Practices now on foot, in spreading false News, (in a Sermon) and HORRIBLE STORIES of the great Men, and great Officers of the Kingdom.* This one may call a *Fifth Article of Impeachment*; for I don't find *spreading of false News* mention'd in *those*, Exhibited by the *House of Commons*. It was alledg'd indeed in General, that there were Reflections in the *Sermon*, upon some *Great Men*: But I don't find they thought fit to produce any *Horrible Stories* of them, out of it. It is true, in another *Audience* 'twas urg'd, that there was an *Ugly Word* in the *Sermon*; which, tho' most People believe was the chief Motive of the *Impeachment*, was, to our Surprize, never made any use of in the *Tryal*. And if the

Delinquent was brought to the Bar for these Horrible Stories, the passing them all over in silence in the Charge against him, must be sure a very odd way of Putting a stop to them.

p. 60.

The Gentleman, p. 60. says, that the Doctor *makes this Exception* (i. e. the Revolution) *the Instance of an unjust Resistance, by an Ironical Assertion of the late King's solemnly disclaiming the least Imputation of Resistance in his Declaration: And an Ironical Assertion, he tells us, is a Figure of Speech very well understood, and known to be the most biting Sarcasm.* It puzzles me very much, to find out with what Propriety of Language an *Ironical Assertion* is call'd a *Figure of Speech*; or how this *Figure* call'd an *Irony*, is said to be *very well understood.* Aristotle, whom I take to be as great a Master of *Rhetorical Knowledge* as this Gentleman, tells me, the Design of this *Figure* is to *dissemble the Meaning of our Words, and to cover them so, that they may not be so very well understood.*

I am inform'd by the same Author too, that a *Sarcasm* is indeed a sort of *Irony*; but that there may be an *Irony*, which is no *Sarcasm*: And so I am again at a loss to comprehend, how this *Figure of Speech*, call'd an *Irony*, is *known to be the most Biting Sarcasm*. I little apprehended, that the Use of this Figure should ever rise up in Judgment against the Doctor: The *disguis'd Ironical* way of Expression, seems to be so far from the Character of the Doctor's Writing, that I must confess, I could never meet with one *Irony* yet in all his Works. However, it seems, the Doctor is so given to *subterfuge*, that from hence, we are told, *the Commons observe, that he is a Conceal'd Man, and of a Dangerous Spirit*; and as such, they bring him hither to Reform him, and to be an *Example to others*. And 'tis most certain, they have had their End in this matter; they have taken effectual Care he should no longer be a *Conceal'd Man*, and have made him a sufficient *Example* to the rest of the Clergy.

P. 59.

P. 74.

There are others, who affirm, that the *Doctrines in General asserted by the Doctor*, are *Criminal*. One says, That to *Preach up Obedience to the Supreme Power as a Christian Duty only, without meddling with Politicks, wants an Excuse*. This, I suppose, must follow from a *Fundamental Position*, which has of late been *Establish'd*, that *all Preaching is Inexcusable*.

P. 61.

Another contends, That to assert *Non-Resistance in a boundless and unlimited Sense*, is to *sap and undermine the very Foundations of our Government*, to *remove the Natural Basis and Fundamental Strength of our Constitution*, and to *strike at the Root, and dig up the Foundation of our present and future Settlement*; and therefore *teaching the People to swallow (an ingenious Phrase for Preaching) these pernicious, Destructive Doctrines, highly deserves, and loudly calls for their Lordships speedy and Exemplary Justice*.

How.

However, the Gentleman that immediately succeeds, is of a very different Opinion : He says, that the Doctor does not lay down this Assertion of Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience, as a Do-^{P. 24.}
 ctrine he would teach his Congregation—I suppose he means, to swallow: For if he had, there had been no Harm in it; for the Doctrin he owns is not only the ^{P. 65.}
 Doctrin of Christianity, but as Ancient as Government ; because otherwise, 'tis impossible Government should subsist. He owns,
 That the Doctor might very well think, ^{P. 66.}
 that what he now asserts by the EQUITY, or, as we call it, the REASON of the Doctrin, preach'd by the Apostles, was well warranted ; and finds fault with the Doctor, for restraining the Apostle's Doctrin of Non-Resistance to all things Lawful ; for it commands Obedience to the Su-^{P. 65.}
 preme Power, tho' in Things contrary to Nature, even to suffer Death. If the ^{P. 67.}
 Doctor had been contented with the Liberty he took of preaching up the Duty of Passive Obedience, in the most extensive manner

manner he had thought fit, and would have stopp'd there, their Lordships would not have had the Trouble, in relation to him, *P. 68. and* that they now have : For the Prosecution *268.* is not for Preaching the Peaceable Doctrine of Absolute Obedience : He might have Preach'd it as long as he pleas'd ; the very Commons would have taken no Offence at it : But the Reason he is now Prosecuted is, his refusing to Obey that *P. 63.* **IMPLICIT** Law, that was made in the 1st. of King William and Queen Mary, in Justification of the Revolution. Thus does this worthy Manager acquit the Doctor from any Crime in Preaching up Absolute Obedience ; it is, he assures us, an Ancient, a Well-warranted, a Christian, and a very Peaceable Doctrine, tho' his Brethren give it the Term of Unparallell'd, Pestilential, Pernicious, and Destructive. He seems to be pleading *Booby*, and not only betrays the Trust repos'd in him by the Commons, but makes the Foot, upon which he puts the Impeachment, ridiculous : For can any one imagine, there was

was such a thing as an IMPLICIT Law made in King William's time? And must not he be suppos'd to be a better Lawyer, than to think, that any Man can be punish'd for *refusing to Obey* any IMPLICIT Law whatever?

Sometimes the Inquisition is made on this remarkable Offender, for charging so^{p. 24.} pernicious a Tenet, as that of Absolute and Unlimited Non-Resistance, to be a Fundamental Part of our Government; and for asserting this as the Doctrine of the Church of England. The Gentleman thinks this a great Reproach to the Excellency of our Constitution, and a Dishonour to the Crown; and has so Compassionate and Tender a Concern for the Church, That he must esteem it a high Reflection on Religion itself, and the Church of England, to Charge its purest Doctrines with such Constructions. This Pleader, you see, has the Generosity to appear as Council for the Church: And doubtless, he must have its Interest very much at Heart, who would

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would

would perswade her, upon this *Occasion*, rather than hurt herself, to renounce those Principles, which she has always taught : Who would advise her to prove a *False Mother*, rather than run the risk of being in any *Peril*, for owning a *True Son*.

p. 77. At other Times we are told, that the Impeachment was made not so much to bring the Delinquent to Justice, as to prevent the growing of such an Evil, as these Doctrines are. He is an Inconsiderable Tool of a Party, no ways worth the trouble we have given your Lordships. But we look upon it, that your Lordships Judgment in this Case, will be giving a SANCTION, which will determine, what Doctrines of this Kind shall, or shall not be Preach'd. 'Tis our

p. 22. Duty not only to demand your Lordships Justice on such a Criminal, but clearly and

p. 24. openly to assert our Foundations : And it is upon this Foundation, that we doubt not, but your Lordships will in a Parliamentary way, fasten a Brand of Indelible Infamy

Infamy upon this Enslaving Tenet of Passive Obedience. My Lords, The Commons have brought this Offender before you, with a View, not only to Detect and Punish his Offence, but to obtain an Occasion in the most Publick and Authentick Manner, to avow the Principles, and justify the Means, upon which the present Government is founded: And we hope the Record of this Proceeding will remain a lasting Monument to Deter all Asserters of such Pestilential and Unparallell'd Doctrines. Here indeed the Disguise is taken off, and the Principles and Foundations asserted in a most strenuous manner. Here the true Sense and Meaning of the Impeachment appears in its full Lustre, in its genuine Colours. The Tenets of the Church must be Reform'd, and her Doctrines Branded; the Parliament must give a Sanction to Divinity, and Hoadly's Measures must P. 71.
be establish'd by Law. 'Tis not material, we are inform'd, what the Opinions of some particular Divines, or even the Doctrines generally preach'd in some particular Reign, may have been concerning

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Passive

- P. 261. *Passive Obedience.* What have *Divines* to do to Preach up Obedience to Higher Powers? It would be much more for the Honour of Religion, and the Peace and Felicity both of the Sovereign and Subject, if this Question of Submission were left by the Divines to those, who make the Municipal Laws of the Country, or the Nature of Laws in general their Study. 'Tis a Fantastical Scheme to blend Questions of Divinity with Questions of Law; Religion has nothing to do to extend the Authority of the Prince, or the Submission of the Subject. The useless Labours, to say no worse of them, of several Divines on these Subjects ought to be buried in utter Oblivion. The Homilies in this Case are **IMMATERIAL**. And so we find *Westminster-Hall* is a fitter Place to Expound *St. Peter* or *St. Paul* in, than *Westminster Abbey*. These Gentlemen have the Courage to speak out what they intend; when all the rest are mumbling Thistles, or are out of the Secret. 'Tis not their design to Punish *Dr. Sacheverell*; but to reform and new Model the Church: to tell her what Doctrines she ought to teach; and
- P. 48.
- P. 291.

and to give the Sanction of Authority to the Rebellious Principles they encourage. And what more was there, or could be urg'd against the *Church* by their Glorious Predecessors in 40?

The modest *Address* to Her Majesty to prefer a Man, who had been *strenuously* asserting a Right in Her Subjects to *Rebel*; the appointing a truly *insignificant Tool of a Party* to justify the *Principles* of those, who *Rebell'd* against Her Royal Grandfather, (and upon that Solemn Day, when he ought to have describ'd *Rebellion as the Sin of Witchcraft*, not to *proclaim a Fast*, but to *sound a Trumpet*, in the Manager's p. 108. Sense) gave sufficient Intimations, *what Doctrines* they design'd the *Church* should *Teach*, and *what not*. But these were only Preludes to that noble Scene, which the *Trial* was to disclose. 'Twas left to the Managers to publish the *Manifesto*, and to avow openly to the World, what Reformation of *Church-Doctrines* they aim'd at; and to do them Justice, they have taken care to

P. 92. do it in such a manner, that it should
 be no *Presumption to censure this Proceed-*
 P. 280. *ing as a Persecution of the Church*: They
 P. 27. have given such plain Proofs of their
 P. 68. *noxious Meaning*; the *Tendency* of their
 Designs *lies so open* and apparent, that
 even the *Mob* (*tho' it be a Cant Word a-*
mong a sort of People call'd GYPSIES)
 with their gross Apprehensions could
 see thro' the Disguise, and plainly per-
 ceive the *Church to be in Danger*. Hap-
 py indeed was it for the Church and
 the Constitution, that the People's
 Eyes were open so early: Had they
 been of the other Side, all their Disor-
 ders would have been justify'd by these
 Men. *Legion* then would have had
 the same Right to Petition, and to
 tell their *Representatives* what to do, as
 in the Year 1700. Their Meetings
 would have been *voted*, as formerly,
 to have been made by Godly, and well
 Clar. Hist. Vol. 1. 265. *Affected Men*. Had the *Mob*, at this
 time, insulted the *Clergy*, had they
 Address'd against the Church, had they
 lb. 265. threaten'd to pull down Westminster-
 lb. Abbey, no doubt several Speeches would
 have

have been made in Justification of them, and Commendation of their Affections ; some would have said, They must not discourage their Friends ; and there would not have been wanting a Mr. Pym to cry out, God forbid the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten the People, to obtain their just Desires in such a way.

But to go on with the Managers. *Revolution* is a Word, I find, that is us'd over and over in every Page, as if the sounding it perpetually in their Lordships Ears, was to serve for an Argument against the Doctor, or at least an Aggravation of his Crimes: And yet these very Gentlemen are not agreed, what sort of a Thing this same *Revolution* was. Some say, that by the *Revolution*, the *Frame of the Government* was restor'd entire and unhurt ; that the ^{P. 49} *Constitution* was reviv'd and resettled: It ^{P. 208.} *was a Restoration of the Ancient Funda-* ^{P. 505.} *mental Constitution of the Kingdom, and giving it its proper Force and Energy. In other Places it is call'd the Foundation*
of

- P. 66. of our present happy *Establishment*, and
 P. 57. the first Principles of this Government. Just before we were told, the *Ancient Foundation* continu'd, and every thing was built upon that ; and here we are assur'd, that a *New One* was laid, and that the *Establishment* of our present Government has no higher a Rise, than from the *Revolution* : For no Body, I suppose, can trace it beyond its first Principles. One Gentleman observes,
 P. 25. that our *Ancient Constitution* has been confirm'd particularly by the *Acts of Settlement* ; that the People are bound in
 P. 23. Duty to Transmit the same Constitution to their Posterity also : and takes a great deal of Pains to prove with uncommon Ostentation, that there has been a Uniform Preservation of this Constitution for many Ages, without any Fundamental Change. And yet his Memory is so short, that in another place he says, Since the Revolution, our Constitution stands now upon a firmer Foundation. Does
 P. 115. the SAME ANCIENT Constitution stand upon a FIRMER Foundation, and still is only uniformly preserv'd ? Has the
 Foun-

Foundation been alter'd, or new laid, to make it *FIRMER*, without any *Fundamental Change*? Or has this Gentleman built only according to the new way of *Architecture*, and borrow'd some of Mr. W—s *CORINTHIAN Buttresses*,^{P. 61.} to support his *Foundation*; or some of his *Imaginary Props* at least to *underset it*? But however the *Revolution* stands, whether on an *old Foundation*, or one laid on purpose for it, there's something, it seems, *stands* upon that; for we are told in a Proposition, which is said to be *Self-evident*, and I am sure very happily worded, That the *Honour of Her Majesty's Government* stands^{P. 47.} upon the *Justice of the Revolution*.

Another Point, which I find the *Managers* not so perfectly agreed in, is the *Queen's Title* to the *Crown*; whether 'tis *Hereditary*, *Parliamentary*, or both. There are but *Two* of them, that I can find, who in the going thro' the *Charge* so much as mention Her^{P. 68. 113.} *Hereditary Right*; and 'tis cursorily with a *Tho'*, and no Stress at all laid upon

upon it in either place. Nay the first is so far from allowing it its just Weight, that he reckons it a Trifle, in Comparison with the *Parliamentary Title*; for tho *Her Majesty has an Hereditary Right to the Crown*, yet he takes the *Acts of Settlement to be Her great SECURITY*. For the rest of them, they roundly affirm all the Title the Queen has to be *Parliamentary*. The Act of Settlement is call'd the *first Principle*, the *Root*, the *Foundation* of the *Present Government*; and *Her Majesty's Title is said to be declar'd by that Act*; which declares no other than a *Parliamentary Title*. And p. 115. thro' the whole Discourse this Right alone is suppos'd to be all *Her Majesty has*; and for that very Reason, it is affirm'd, that *Her Title to the Throne stands upon a more solid and indisputable Foundation, than that of any Prince upon Earth*. And this they advance not only in positive Terms, but exclusive of the *Hereditary Title*. If the *favourite and darling Tenet of Hereditary Right be true*, the *Queen is not Queen*. And whoever sets

p. 66.

p. 61.

p. 58.

p. 74

p. 56.

sets himself to weaken this Title of Her Majesty to the Throne, represents Her Administration, like that of One, that has no Title at all. If there be any such thing as an Hereditary Title, we find it often repeated to us, and inculcated, that it is in the Pretender, P. 26. the Prince on t'other side of the Water, P. 63. 17. One that has this Rightful Title.

These were such *flaming Opinions*, P. 93. such dangerous *Insinuations*, that the *Council*, could not but take notice of them, and Express the just Sense they had of their pernicious Consequences. Indeed in the *Replication* the Gentleman, who is in Her Majesty's immediate Service, has the Modesty to *Explain* himself; and tho' he had asserted Her Majesty's Title to be declar'd by the *Act* P. 58. of *Settlement*, yet he says, he does not so far assert the *Parliamentary Title*, as 270. to deny Her *Hereditary Right*, which he shall ever avow. And this he professes, not only in his *own*, but in the Name of all his Brethren, the *Managers*; and appeals to their *Lordships*, and the
H World,

World, whether any thing had been said by them, *as if they had deny'd the Hereditary Right.* And let their Lordships, and the World judge, whether there was or no; let the Quotations already produc'd be consulted, and let us see, whether any forc'd *Constructions* can thus alter the Sense of what has been so *Emphatically insisted upon.* But the other Gentleman, who comes after to assist in the *Replication*, makes no use of the *Excuse* or *Distinction*, that was put in for him: He scorns to flinch from his Word, and in his *usual* strenuous manner, *re-asserts his true Foundations*, as he calls them, and stands to his Defiance of the Queen's *Hereditary Right.*

P. 273.

P. 282.

I can't here forbear comparing the *Queen's Title*, as founded upon the *Parliamentary Right only*, to the *Parliament's Grant of the Customs to King Charles I.* and I believe the Comparison will be thought pretty just. The Noble Historian of those Times tells us, *The House of Commons took notice, that from the Time of his*
Maje-

Vol. I 165.

Majesty's coming to the Crown, he had taken the Customs as his own Right, without any Act of Parliament. They said, no Body could imagin, but that they intended to grant the same to his Majesty, in the same manner for his Life, as had been to his Progenitors by Act of Parliament; but that they found such an Act could not presently be made, because the Book of Rates must be reform'd. However, that the Continuance of the Collection in the Manner it was in, without any lawful Title, and during the very sitting of Parliament, would be a Precedent of a very ill Consequence; and make the Right of giving it the more question'd, at least the less valu'd. And therefore it would be fit, that a short Act should be presently pass'd, for the Continuance of those Payments for a short Time; against the Expiration whereof, the Act for granting them for Life, with the Book of Rates, would be prepar'd and ready. So they prepar'd with all the Expressions of Duty and Affection to the King, that can be imagin'd, and presented a Grant of those Duties for a few Months. In which

there was a Preamble, disapproving and condemning all that had been done in that Particular, from his Majesty's first coming to the Crown to that time; and asserting the whole Right to those Payments, to depend upon the Gift of his Subjects; and concluded with most severe Penalties, to be inflicted on those, who should presume hereafter to collect or receive them otherways, than as they were, or should be granted, by Act of Parliament; which had never been in any other Act of Parliament declar'd. And the Historian goes on, with this Observation: So all the Revenue the King had to live upon, and to provide him Meat, and which he had reason to expect, should have been more certainly continu'd to him, was taken INTO their Hands, in order to take it FROM HIM too, whenever they should think it convenient to their other Designs; of which he shortly after found the Mischief. I wish the Mischief some time or other may not be found here too: And if this Doctrine of a sole Parliamentary Right prevails, as it is laid out to us by these Teachers, and the Parliament takes

takes the Disposal of Her Majesty's Crown intirely *INTO* their Hands, without any regard to the *Hereditary Right*: Why may they not take it *FROM HER* too, whenever they should think it convenient to their other Designs? And why may they not chuse a *King*, if they please, as often as they do a *Speaker*?

I must confess, I was startled at first, to find an *Hereditary Right* acknowledg'd in the *Pretender*: I thought always, he had been *Illegitimate*; and that it was the constant Sense of the Nation, that he was so. I thought the *Abjuration Oath* had put this out of Dispute, by declaring that he has no *manner of Right*; yet now, it seems, he has an *Hereditary Right*; a very odd sort of a *Right* sure, if it be no *manner of Right* at all. But I was still more surpriz'd to find, that he was now not only *Own'd*, but affirm'd over and over, to be *Legitimate*, by this very Set of Men, who, I remember, Twenty Years ago, were very industrious in raising the
first

p. 20.

first Suspicions of his being *Spurious*; and giving it out always, that they were ready to produce the Proofs of it. The Cry, I perceiv'd, was quite chang'd; and these People, I knew, did not use to alter their Tone for nothing. I was not long at a loss to account for this shifting of the Scene. *Reflecting backward*, as Sir *James* says, I saw the View open'd very clearly. I recollected the Treatment this Party us'd towards Her Majesty, when *Princess of Denmark*; the Affronts and Indignities they offer'd to Her Person; the restless Endeavours they made to frustrate Her *Accession* to the Throne. I call'd to mind the Indefatigable Pains they took, during all this Reign, in propagating the Notions of the *Legality of Resistance*, and the Distinguishing Encouragement they gave to those, who broach'd them: The utter Neglect and Disrespect they shew'd to the next Successors in the *Protestant Line*. I remember'd the Posture of Affairs at the Time of the late *Invasion*; that in *Scotland*, there was not the least Preparation

ration made against it; and that in *England*, 'twas fear'd, that there might be so many Well-wishers to it, that all good Subjects were very shy and reserv'd in speaking their Fears, or their Thoughts; that the Party, which was then in Power, did nothing at all to hinder it; and that the Disappointment of that Armament was intirely owing to a Blunder of the *French*. These Facts, I think, want no Comment; they speak sufficiently for themselves; and their Doctrines laid down in this *Tryal* can be no otherways reconcil'd, than by Concluding, what is very plain from their Conduct, that however they are pleas'd to colour and disguise their Discourses, their true End is only to disengage and alienate the People's Affections from their present Governours. Such Steps have they taken, such Advances have they made towards another *Revolution*, that they prepar'd the People, as much as they could, by infusing into them the Principles of *Resistance*, and the Power of transferring their Allegiance, to receive the *Invader*; and whenever he

P. 71.
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is ready to *Invade* us again, they have now furnish'd him with an *Hereditary Right*.

P. 57.

This has help'd me to understand the Force of that Remark, which a Learned *Manager* makes, That 'tis *obvious to every one's Observation, that, since the late Attempt made by the Pretender, this Principle of the utter Illegality of Resistance, on any Pretence whatever, has been espous'd and maintain'd with more than ordinary Warmth, and Zeal.* They are angry, you see, with this Warmth and Zeal for these Principles; and with good Reason, since it appears, they were so contrary to their own. I must own, I did not at first apprehend, why some of the *Clergy*, within *these last two Years*, have been so Zealous in espousing and *maintaining* this *Doctrine of Obedience*: But now I am convinc'd of their Sagacity, as well as their Courage, in asserting those Apostolical Truths at a Season, when the Service of Her Majesty and the Church most require it. If you want a Proof, how
justly

justly these Consequences are charg'd upon those, who deny *Passive Obedience* and the *Queen's Hereditary Right* ; I refer you to the late Conduct of *Two Clergy-men* in refusing to Subscribe an *Address* against the *Pretender*. Such Bish. of London's Address. Merit it seems these Principles have, that if this Party had continued in Power much longer, the *Church* wou'd probably have been in *Danger* of seeing *Both* of them preferr'd to her highest Honours.

This may serve likewise to explain the Management, that has been us'd of late, not only in permitting *Roman Catholick* Agents and Missionaries to swarm about the City, and to make Profelytes with Impunity ; but in Conniving at all been every Day publish'd by that has the Sedition and Treason, *Non-jurors*. Have they not openly and in defiance of the Government, deny'd every Title the *Queen* has to the Crown ? Have they not in their Writings main-
tain'd

tain'd the Right of the *Pretender*, and exploded all the Acts of *Settlement*, which have been made since the *Revolution*, as null and void? Have our *Revolution-Men* call'd any of them to Account? Has there been any *Impeachment*, or so much as a Prosecution at *Common-Law* order'd against them. What can explain the Meaning of letting these profess'd inveterate Enemies of the Establishment escape unpunish'd and uncensur'd, but great tenderness of Conscience, or great Conformity in *Principle*? They who publicly own the *Pretender*, have it seems a Title to the Clemency and Protection of that Government, which they Disclaim; whilst an *Abjuring* Divine, who gives all the Proof of his Loyalty, which the Government requires, must expect no Mercy for an *Innuendo*, or *Suggestion*.

Will the same Answer serve for these *Libellers*, as some give concerning the *Observer* and the *Review*; that they

they are little *obscure Writers, and Shadows of the Church Enemies*? 'Tis notorious, I believe, *how* these *two* profligate Scriblers have been supported, and by whom: And it is no Secret, by what Hands a *Collection* was carried on for the *latter*, in consideration of his eminent Services against Dr. *Sacheverell*. Thus has this Party distinguish'd themselves to be Friends to the *Church* and the *Constitution*; and can we have greater Proofs of their Zeal and Affection to both, than to see how at the same time thro' their means *Lesley* is Conniv'd at, *Hoadly* Countenanc'd, and *Defoe* Rewarded.

The Managers indeed express the most Pathetical Concern for the Honour and Welfare of the *Church*. They are for *healing* its *Breaches*, and enlarging its Borders, and bringing every Body into its *Pale*. To make any *Distinction between Protestants*, is to design a *Union with the Church of Rome*. We are assur'd, that the Dissenters do not *CAUSELESSLY* separate from the *Church*, and so are not guilty of *SCHISM*. P. 113.

P. 83.

P. 75.

They are highly to be Commended and Magnify'd for being good Subjects, and good Christians ; so that the *Toleration* is not only a *Credit to the Church*, but the way to make *Converts to it*. And therefore we are told upon this Head, that the *present Reverend Bench of Bishops* have rais'd the *Lustre and Reputation of our Church*, to a Degree beyond what their *Predecessors* cou'd do, by their *EXTENSIVE Zeal and Christian Moderation*; As if Charity for the Scruples of those, who do not Communicate with the Church, were a more *Episcopal Character*, than a Zeal for the Principles of its Communion ; and the only way to give a *Lustre* to that *Bench*, were to be a *Moderate Bishop*.

But it seems they are not contented with valuing themselves for their great Devotion to the *Church*, and especially to *such Bishops*, but with a Modesty, natural to that Party, must call themselves the only *Friends of the Administration*, and the only *Lovers of their Coun-*

Country. To prepare the Audience, and win upon their Affections, we are told by way of *Preamble*, that the Pursuit of the other Party after Power is *Indefatigable*, and to obtain which they would make a willing Sacrifice of the Common Liberty; while others, who have a contrary Principle, have acted a quite contrary Part. Have they not contributed every thing, in their Power, to strengthen the Government in Her present Majesty's Hands, as well as the late King's; and that with a Zeal and Constancy thro' several Changes, which nothing but a Principle could inspire? What Principle they are inspir'd with, no Body doubts; as little do we question their Zeal and Constancy in it: We have seen it eminently Conspicuous, in Voting Men without any Musters; and in giving the Money of the Nation away without any Account; in strengthening the Government in those Hands, that have squander'd it, or misapply'd it: in letting the Navy Starve, to supply the Army; and supporting the Army in that Place, where the War was least likely

likely to be ended ; in *Addressing* perpetually for a Safe and Honourable Peace, and defending the Mismanagement and Exorbitancy of those who have *hindered* it.

'Twould be easy to pursue this Subject, and give a *History* of this *Party* from the *Revolution*; and it would be a great Entertainment to you to see, that in their *Publick* Capacity, they have always preferr'd the Interest of the Nation to their own, that they have voted for all self-denying Bills, have been so tender of the Liberty and Property of their Fellow Subjects, as to contrive all Means to ease them of the Burden of a long War ; so Loyal to the Queen, as to shew all the Regard possible to Her Person and Prerogative ; and so Faithful to their Mother-Church, as to secure Her Authority by the Excellent Laws they have made, and support Her Dignity by the Eminent Men they have preferr'd: And that in their *Private* Character, they have not only been Examples of

strict

strict Morality and Virtue themselves, but have taken such Care of the Educating the Youth, *Committed to their Charge, in Ingenuous Literature, and Sound Religion, that there may never be wanting fit and able Men to succeed them, both in Church and State.* But I won't anticipate the Pleasure, which you will have quickly to more Advantage from a better Hand.

Let one Instance of their Principle serve for all; their Usage of a Brave *English-Man*, of their own Party, as Genuine and undoubted a *Whigg* as any of them. Did they not send him upon an *Expedition*, and as soon as ever he was gone, traduce him, as one not fit to manage it? Did they not Equip him out in such a manner, that they thought he cou'd do *nothing*; and were they not Enrag'd, when they heard he had done *Wonders*? Were there not great Endeavours us'd, that no particular *Thanksgiving* should be appointed for the miraculous Success in *Spain*, in order to swallow it up in a more favourite

rite Victory? Were there not Calumnies perpetually spread at home to defame him, and all the Artifice and Malice us'd to lessen him? And when he was just giving the finishing Stroke to his Glorious Undertaking, by bringing that Kingdom into our Possession, and putting an End to the War, not only there, but in all *Europe*; Did they not in that critical Juncture Exert their utmost Diligence to Prevent it, and lay all the Obstructions possible in his way, by *Tampering* with some of King Charles's Council, and by directing the General *after their own Heart* to do nothing, or rather something worse than nothing? Did they not prosper in their Attempt, and tho' with great Difficulty, defeat all that Success, which by the Conduct of that Noble Lord, we were just in view of? And did they not in the most insolent malicious manner lay this very Defeat to his Charge; and never left pursuing him with groundless Clamours, and pretended Mismanagement, till they had him recall'd? Were not several Officers *Closeted*, and

instructed in their Lesson; and some that could not be prevail'd upon to disguise the Truth, reprimanded, and discountenanc'd? Were not all Endeavours made use of to stifle any Inquiry into the *Spanish* Affairs; and when it was brought to an Examination, was it not with Uncommon Artifice and Industry so perplex'd and protracted, that it could not come to Light? Did not those, and those *only*, who are tax'd with always being *ready to make a willing Sacrifice of the Common Liberty*, appear in his Defence upon no other Motive or Principle, but the Justice of his Cause, and the Service he had done to the Nation? And did not his old Friends, these *False Brethren*, desert him, and make a Merit in being his Enemies? So irreconcilable were they to one, who had almost made an End of the War; and who had always so much Honour, as to prefer the Good of his Country to the private Interest of a Party. And that they might be sure to make all their Actions of a Piece, and do nothing by Halves,

did they in the least scruple to affirm, that we had the *Full Complement* of 29000 Men in that Service, when by those very *Accounts*, upon which that Assertion was grounded, it was plain, we had not above *half* that Number. Such Patriots have they shewn themselves, and such Measures have they taken to oppress their Country, and all those that have its true Interest at Heart, in order, sometime or other, to Tyrannize over their Fellow Subjects, and get the better of the *Constitution*.

That this is the Natural Tendency of these Principles and Practices, we shall perhaps be more thoroughly convinc'd, if we observe, they had these very Effects in former Times. *History* is allow'd by all to be one of the most useful Studies; for this Reason chiefly, that by giving us a Description of the Revolutions and Events of one Age, it enables us to judge, what Issue and Effect we may expect from Things which we see doing in our own; The
same

same Motives and Springs of Action naturally producing the like Train of Consequences. There is a Period of Time, which that most Excellent Historian my Lord *Clarendon* describes, that has so near a Resemblance with the present, that I cannot do a greater Justice to the Subject I am now upon, than to draw out the Parallel between them: Some may call it an *Odious* one; but I am sure 'tis a *True* one, and has, as the Judicious Mr. *Dee* rightly observes, a *Parallel* should have, *Two Lines*.

Have we seen a *Junto*, a few Men of no real Weight or Interest in the Nation, by Artifice, Assiduity and great Improvement in the Faculty of Lying, work themselves into Power, and Lord it over their Fellow Subjects? — This History informs us, how *A Handful of Men*, in the beginning much inferior in Number, and Interest, came to give *Laws* to the Major Part; and what ill Arts these Men of Activity and Faction us'd to prevail upon

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the People in general; their absurd Ridiculous Lying to win the Affections, and corrupt the Understandings of the Weak; and the bold Scandals to confirm the Wilful; the boundless Promises they presented to the Ambitious, and their gross abject Flatteries and Applications to the Vulgar-spirited: Arts, that Liberal-minded Men would not give themselves leave to entertain, for the Prevention of all the Mischief that the others intended.

Have our most Eminent Patriots, Men of the best Quality, Figure and Reputation, for Birth, Estates and Abilities in the whole Kingdom, that stood in the Gap for the Support of the Constitution, and boldly oppos'd any Encroachment upon it, either from the Prince or the People, been maliciously traduc'd, and posted in a *Black List*, as disaffected to the Government, and Betrayers of their Country? We are furnish'd here with like Example, those 59 Gallant Members of the House of Commons, when they saw that the Law could not condemn the Earl of
Strafford,

Straffard, and therefore dissented from that unjust and cruel Bill of Attainder, had their Names branded under the Title of *Straffordians*, or *Enemies of their Country*.

Have we seen shameless Partiality and Injustice us'd in determining *Elections*, the Rights and Charters of *Boroughs* Violated and Exploded, and Three voted more than Twenty Five, as in the Case of *Abingdon*, *Orford*, *Bewdly*, &c. My Lord *Clarendon* tells us, that in the very Beginning of the Parliament in 40. *They begun to consider, that* Vol. I. 140. *notwithstanding all the Industry that had been us'd to procure such Members to be chosen, or return'd, tho' not chosen, who had been most refractory to the Government of the Church and State; yet that the House was so constituted, that when the first Heat (which almost all Men brought with them) should be a little allay'd, violent Counsels would not be long hearken'd to: And therefore, as they took great Care by the Committee of Elections to remove as many of those Members as they suspected*
not

not to be inclinable to their Passions, upon Pretence that they were not regularly chosen, that so they might bring in others more pliable in their Places, in which no Rule of Justice was so much as pretended to be observ'd by them; insomuch as it was often said by leading Men amongst them, That they ought in those cases of Elections to be guided by the Fitness and Worthiness of the Person, whatsoever the Desire of those was, in whom the Right of Election remain'd; and therefore one Man hath been admitted upon the same Rule by which another hath been rejected: So they declar'd, That no Person, how Lawfully and Regularly soever Chosen and Return'd, should be, and sit as a Member with them, who had been a Party or Favourer of any Project, or who had been employ'd in any Illegal Commission.

Are those who assert the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, tax'd with Sapping and Undermining the very Foundations of our Government, with removing the Basis and Fundamental Strength of
our

our Constitution, with questioning the first Principles of this Government, ^{P. 66.} with unhinging and subverting the ^{P. 63.} Government? The House of Commons, with as much Reason, presented a *Remonstrance* (almost in the same Words) to the King, Decemb. 1. 1640. *That there had been, from the Beginning* ^{Cl. V. 13. 249.} *of his Reign, a malignant and pernicious Design of subverting the Fundamental Laws and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Justice of the Kingdom was Establish'd.*

Is Dr. Sacheverell, and all such False Brethren, who deny a Power of Resistance in the People, and who profess Absolute and Passive Obedience to the Supreme Power, charg'd with having a Design to disengage and alienate the Peoples Affections from their present Governours? ^{P. 71.} The same *Remonstrance* sets ^{P. 76.} forth, *That the Bishops, and corrupt Part of the Clergy, had endeavour'd to raise Differences and Discontents between the King and his People, upon Questions of Prerogative, and Liberty.*

Is

Is the Doctor accus'd for creating
 P. 84. Jealousies and Misunderstandings a-
 P. 86. mongst Her Majesty's People, and in-
 stilling groundless Fears, by reflecting
 on the Dissenters? The same Clergy are
 again in this *Remonstrance* complain'd
 of, for continuing, multiplying and en-
 larging the Differences between the Prote-
 stants and themselves, and distinguishing
 between Protestants and Puritans.

Do the *Managers* call for an indeli-
 P. 24. ble Brand of Infamy, in a Parliamen-
 tary way, upon the Enslaving Tenet
 of Passive Obediencce, and do they ask
 for a Sanction, which shall determine
 P. 77. what Doctrines of this Kind shall, or
 shall not be preach'd; and give Hints
 what Principles ought to be taught in
 the *Universities*? Our *Remonstrance* still
 Cl. 27. affords us a like Paragraph (as if our
Managers copy'd from this noble Paper)
 That they meant to have a General Synod
 of the most Grave, Pious, Learned and
 judicious Divines of this Island (tho' the
 Historian observes, that at that Time
 there

there was scarce one Orthodox Divine of England in Reputation with them) who should consider of all things necessary for the Peace and Good Government of the Church; and to present the Result of their Consultation to Parliament, to be there allow'd, and confirm'd; that they intended to reform and purge the Fountains of Learning, the two Universities; that the Streams flowing from thence might be Clear and Pure, and an Honour and Comfort to the whole Land.

Do we find in these Speeches perpetual Repetitions of *Fears and Jealousies*, to make an Impression in the Minds of the People? Our Historian acquaints us, That *these were then the new Words, which serv'd to justify all Indispositions, and to excuse all Disorders.*

Was the Doctor, in the Course of his Accusation, before Sentence pass'd, styl'd a *Criminal*, treated with Scorn and Indignity, and loaded with opprobrious Language? We find the same Treatment us'd by the Managers

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P. 172.

in the Impeachment of my Lord Strafford; Mr. Pym call'd him the *Wicked Earl*; Another Member of the House of Commons, apply'd and press'd the Evidence, with great Licence and Sharpness of Language; and took all Occasions of bitterly inveighing against his Person. And this reproachful way of Carriage was look'd upon with so much Approbation, that we are told in the same place of another particular Circumstance (which I can't omit, tho' indeed it be no ways applicable to the present Tryal) That one of the Managers (Mr. Palmer) lost all his Credit and Interest with them, and never recover'd it, for using a Decency and Modesty in his Carriage and Language towards him; tho' the Weight of his Arguments press'd more upon the Earl, than all the Noise of the rest.

P. 25.

Have we seen what an Addition it has been to the Glories of this bright Reign, that so many of those who are honour'd with being in Her Majesty's Service, have, before Her Majesty's Face, been lowering the Prerogative
of

of the Crown, and contending for the Doctrine of Resistance, and weakening Her Title to the Throne, by denying Her an Hereditary Right? We have like Instances of *many, who had scarce ever eaten any Bread but the King's, who detach'd themselves from their Dependance;* P. 333.
 so that the King at that time had no *Ser-* P. 253.
want, in the House of Commons, of Faithfulness and Affection to his Service; and Mr. St. John, who at the beginning was made SOLLICITOR GENERAL, and thereby had oblig'd himself, by a particular Oath, to defend his Majesty's Rights, and in no case to be of Counsel, or give Advice to the Prejudice of the King and the Crown, was the Chief Instrument to devise and contrive all the Propositions and Acts of Undutifulness towards him.

Are we told, That they are not P. 59.
 pleading for a licentious Resistance, as if Subjects were left to their Good-Will and Pleasure, when they are to Obey, and when they are to Resist; and that 'tis with the View of Necessity, only Absolute Necessity, of

P. 21.

preserving their Lives, Liberties and Religion: That 'tis with this Limitation only they desire to be understood, when any of them speak of Resistance in general? Are we told, That the Words *the Necessary Means*, (which is the Phrase us'd by the Commons to express the *Resistance*, which brought about the Revolution) was made choice of by them with the greatest Caution; and the Commons, who will never be unmindful of the Allegiance of the Subject to the Crown of this Realm, judg'd it highly incumbent upon them, out of Regard to Her Majesty's Person and Government, and the Ancient and Legal Constitution of this Kingdom, to call that Resistance the *Necessary Means*: Thereby plainly founding the Power and Right of Resistance, which was exercis'd by the People at the time of the happy Revolution, and which the Duties of Self-Preservation and Religion call'd them to, upon the Necessity of the Case, and at the same time effectually securing Her Majesty's Govern-

vernment, and the due Allegiance of
 all Her Subjects? We find there was
 the same *Caution* us'd in 41. by those
 who profess'd to be ever mindful of the
Allegiance of the Subjects to the Crown,
 in drawing up the Ordinance about
the Militia, for the Effectual Security
 of his Majesty's Government; which
 Ordinance the People were to Obey, P. 355.
 only in case of *Extreme Danger.* The
 History quickly informs us, that they
 were never at a loss to find the *Danger*
to be Extreme. The Account of this
 Transaction is writ with an admirable
 Spirit and Judgment; and it so exact-
 ly hits the present Controversy about
Resistance, that no Words could bet-
 ter describe the Natural Effect of such
 a Doctrine, were it Enacted by the
 Parliament to be *Lawful, in case of Ne-*
cessity, than the Words made use of by
 this noble Author. After having given P. 421.
 the Reasons, *why it might seem strange,*
that those Men could entertain the Hope
and Confidence to obtrude a Declaration and
Vote upon the People, that the King did
intend to make War upon the Parliament;
 and

and that it was an Undertaking of that Nature, that even the Almightyness of a Parliament might have despair'd to succeed in: He says, That notwithstanding all this, they very well knew What they did, and understood what Infinite Advantage that Vote would (as it did) bring to them; and that a Natural way would never bring them to their Unnatural End. The Power and Reputation of Parliament, they believ'd, would Implicitly prevail over many; and amaze and terrify others from it. The Difficulty was, to procure the Judgment of Parliament; and to incline those different Constitutions, and different Affections, to such a Concurrence, as the Judgment might not be discredited, by the Number of the Dissenters; nor wounded, or prejudg'd by the Reasons, and Arguments given against it: And then, their Judgments of the Cure being to be grounded upon the Nature, and Information of the Disease, it was necessary to confine, and contract their Fancies and Opinions within some Bounds, and Limits: The Mystery of Rebellion challenging the same Encouragement with other Sciences, to grow by;
that

that there may be certain Postulata, some Principles and Foundations, upon which the main Building may subsist. So in the case of the Militia, an imminent Danger must be first suppos'd, by which the Kingdom is in apparent Hazard, and then the King's Refusal to apply any Remedy against that Danger, before the two Houses would pretend to the Power of disposing that Militia: it being too ridiculous to have pretended the natural and ordinary Jurisdiction over it; but, in case of Danger, and Danger so Imminent, that the Usual Recourse would not serve the Turn: and for the saving of a Kingdom, which must Otherwise be lost, many good Men thought it was reasonable to apply a very Extraordinary Prevention, without imagining such a Supposition might possibly engage them in any Action, contrary to their own Inclinations; and, without doubt, very many who frankly Voted that Imminent Necessity, were induc'd to it, as an Argument, that the King should be therefore importun'd to consent to the Settlement; which would not have appear'd so necessary a Request, if the Occasion had not been important; never
 sus-

suspecting, that it would have been im-
 prov'd into an Argument to them, to ad-
 venture the doing it without the King's
 Consent. And it is not here unseasona-
 ble (how merry soever it may seem to
 be) as an Instance of the Incogitancy, and
 Inadvertency of those kind of Votes and
 Transactions, to remember that the first
 Resolution of the Power of the Militia
 being grounded upon a Supposition of an
 Imminent Necessity, the Ordinance first
 sent up from the Commons, to the Lords,
 for the Execution of the Militia, ex-
 press'd an Eminent Necessity; where-
 upon, some Lords, who understood the
 Difference of the Words, and that an
 Eminent Necessity might be supply'd by
 the ordinary Provision, which, possibly,
 an Imminent Necessity might not safely
 attend, desir'd a Conference with the Com-
 mons, for the Amendment; which, I re-
 member, was at last, with great Difficul-
 ty, consented to: many (who, I presume,
 are not yet grown up to conceive the
 Difference) supposing it an unnecessary
 Contention for a Word, and so yielding to
 them, for saving of Time, rather than
 dispute

dispute a Thing, which to Them seem'd of no great moment.

They, who contriv'd this Scene, never doubted, but after a Resolution what was to be done upon a suppos'd Necessity, they should easily, when they found it Convenient, make that Necessity Real. It was no hard matter to make the Fearful, apprehensive of Dangers; and the Jealous, of Designs; and they wanted not Evidence of all kinds; of Letters from abroad, and Discoveries at home, to make those Apprehensions formidable enough; and then, tho' before the Resolution, there was a great Latitude in Law and Reason, what was Lawfully to be done, they had now forejudg'd themselves, and Resolv'd of the Proper Remedy, except they would argue against the Evidence; which Usually would have been to discountenance, or undervalue some Person of notable Reputation, or his Correspondence; and always to have oppos'd, That that was of such an Allay, as, in truth, did operate upon the Major Part. So, in the Case upon which we now discourse, if they had,

in the most advantageous Article of their Fury, profess'd the raising of an Army against the King, there was yet that Reverence to Majesty, and that Spirit of Subjection and Allegiance in most Men, that they would have look'd upon it with Opposition, and Horror: But Defensive Armes were more plausible Divinity; and if the King should commit such an Outrage, as to levy War against his Parliament, to destroy the Religion, Laws, and Liberty of the Kingdom, good Men were persuaded, that such a Resistance might be made, as might preserve the Whole; and he that would have argu'd against this Thesis, besides the Impertinency of arguing against a Supposition, that was not like to be Real, and in which the corrupt Consideration of Safety seem'd to bribe most Men, could never escape the Censure of promoting Tyranny, and lawless Dominion. Then to incline Men to concur in the Declaration, of the King's Intention to make War against the Parliament, they were persuaded it might have a good, and could have no ill Effect: The Remedies, that were to be apply'd upon an Actual

al levying of War, were not justifiable upon the Intention; and the declaring this Intention, and the Dangers it carry'd with it, to the King himself, and to all those who should assist him, would be a probable Means of reforming such Intention, and preventing the Execution: Inconvenience it could produce none (for the disquieting, or displeasing the King, was not thought Inconvenient) if there were no Progress in the suppos'd Intention; if there were, it were fit the whole Kingdom should stand upon it's Guard, and not be Surpriz'd to it's Confusion.

By these false and fallacious Mediums, the Clearness of Men's Understandings were dazled; and, upon the matter, all their Opinions and Judgments for the Future, captivated and preengag'd by their own Votes, and Determinations. For, how easy a matter is it to make it appear to that Man, who consented that the King Intended to make War against the Parliament, that when he should Do it, he had broken his Oath, and dissolv'd his Government; and that whosoever should assist him were Tray-

tors? I say, how easy was it to persuade That man, that he was oblig'd to defend the Parliament; to endeavour to uphold That Government; and to resist Those Traytors? And, whosoever considers that the Nature of Men, especially of Men in Authority, is inclin'd rather to Commit two Errors, than to Retract one, will not marvel, that from this Root of Unadvisedness, so many, and tall Branches of mischief have proceeded. And therefore, it were to be wish'd, that those who have the Honour to be trusted in Publick Consultations, were endu'd with so much Natural Logick, to discern the Consequences of every Publik Act, and Conclusion; and with so much Conscience and Courage, to watch the First Impressions upon their Understanding and Compliance: and that, neither out of the Impertinency of the thing, which Men are apt to conclude out of Impatiency of Dispatch; or out of Stratagem to make Men Odious (as in this Parliament many forbore to oppose unreasonable Resolutions, out of an Opinion that they would make the Contrivers Odious) or upon any other (tho' seeming never so Politick) Considerations, they

they consent not to any Propositions, by which Truth or Justice are invaded. I am confident, with very good Warrant, that many Men have, from their Souls, abhorred every Article of this Rebellion; and heartily deprecated the Miseries, and Desolation we have suffer'd by it, who have Themselves, with great Alacrity and Industry, contributed to, if not contriv'd, those very Votes and Conclusions, from whence the Evils they abhor, have most naturally and regularly flow'd, and been deduc'd; and which they could not reasonably, upon their own Concessions, contradict and oppose.

But to conclude, a Man shall not unprofitably spend his Contemplation, that, upon this occasion, considers the method of God's Justice (a Method terribly remarkable in many Passages, and upon many Persons; which we shall be compell'd to remember in this Discourse) that the Same Principles, and the Same Application of those Principles, should be us'd to the wresting all Sovereign Power from the Crown, which the Crown had a little before made use

use of for the extending it's Authority, and Power, beyond it's Bounds, to the prejudice of the Just Rights of the Subject. A Suppos'd Necessity was Then thought Ground enough to create a Power, and a bare Averment of that Necessity to beget a Practice to impose what Tax they thought convenient upon the Subject, by Writs of Ship-money never before known; and a Suppos'd Necessity Now, and a bare Averment of that Necessity is as confidently, and more Fatally, concluded a good Ground to exclude the Crown from the use of any Power, by an Ordinance never before heard of; and the same Maxim of Salus populi Suprema lex, which had been us'd to the infringing the Liberty of the one, made use of for the destroying the Rights of the other.

There needs no Application of the Passage here quoted; it is too notorious from the matters of Fact that follow'd upon the broaching these Doctrines, that if Subjects may resist for any *one* Reason, which they will allege, it is very probable, they will never want a Reason.

But

But to wave any further Comment upon the Tryal, let us consider some other Instances, where we may trace the Steps of our worthy Fore-fathers in the present Generation.

Have we seen a few *Citizens* arrive to such a pitch of Sauciness, as to intrude upon the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown, and prescribe to the Queen what Ministers She should employ ; and to tell Her, the Credit of the Nation must sink, upon any Change, and that People would not trust their Money in the Bank? In those Times likewise, *Some of the City* offer'd to be of the Privy-Council to the King, and represented the great Danger, Fears and Distractions they were in ; and pray'd the King, among other things, that, by the Advice of his great Council in Parliament, he would put the Tower into the Hands of Persons of Trust. Soon after a pack'd Mob of *Citizens* petition'd, under a Pretence, That *their Fears and Jealousies* were so great, that they durst not carry their *P. 290.*
Bullion *P. 314.*

P. 322.

Bullion into the Tower, being not satisfy'd with their present Lieutenant there; and therefore desir'd he might be remov'd. And immediately upon this, succeeded the Eloquent Petitions of the Porters and Beggars, representing the State of the Nation, with their Humble Advice to his Majesty, what he should do.

P. 304.

Have there been industrious Endeavours us'd to persuade People, that the Funds would sink upon an Alteration in the Ministry or Parliament; that no Body would lend the Government Money to carry on the War, or pay Debts? It was just the same Cry of old, That there was no more Hope of borrowing Money in the City; that Men before had chearfully lent their Estates, upon the Confidence in the Honour and Justice of the Parliament; but they had now consider'd, how desperate their Security must prove, if the Parliament should be DIS-SOLV'D. And the Clamour ended in an Act, to make that good Parliament Perpetual.

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Do we see Orders, publickly sent from Great Men, to discourage and discountenance Loyal Addresses to Her Majesty ; wherein Her Subjects assure Her, they will defend Her *Title* to the *Crown*, the *Doctrines* of the *Church*, and the *Laws* of the *Land* ? Do we see a *Direction* given, to find out, and apprehend the *Promoters* of them ? Our great *Historian*, in like manner, tells us, *How when the chief Gentlemen* p. 350. *of Oxfordshire heard, that a Petition had been deliver'd to the House of Commons in their Name, and the Name of that County, against the Establish'd Government of the Church, and for the Exercise of the Militia, they assembled together to draw up a Petition disavowing the former, and to desire, That the settled Laws might be observ'd ; of which the Lord Say having notice, he procur'd the chief Gentlemen to be sent for as Delinquents, and so suppress'd that Address. And this was the Measure of their Justice in many other Particulars of the same Nature, receiving and cherishing all mutinous, and seditious Petitions,*

N and

and discountenancing such as besought the Continuance, and Vindication, of the so long celebrated and happy Government in Church and State; the prime Leaders of that Faction not blushing, in publick Debates in the House, to aver, That no Man ought to petition for the Government Establish'd by Law, because he had already his Wish; but they that desir'd an Alteration, could not otherwise have their Desires known; and therefore were to be countenanc'd.

1.94.

These were the Steps that prepar'd the Way for the Rebellion and Anarchy of those Days: There is a strange Coincidence of Facts, we see, in that Period of Time, and This; and some Resemblance at least, whatever a Manager may think, between those unhappy Times, and Ours: It would be much more strange, if there should be such a Likeness between the Actions of both, and the Tendency of them should be thought not to bear the least Resemblance. Whatever the Tendency be, the Event, I hope, will never come into Parallel.

Parallel. The *Managers*, at that time, (as this Learned Pen styles them) were Men of great Figure and Weight; were as Extraordinary in their Parts, and Abilities, as in their Wickedness and Treachery: Never was there a Set of Men, who shew'd more Art in Speaking, more Judgment in Contriving, or more Conduct in Executing their Designs. God be thanked, they have left no Inheriters of those Talents: We have now no *Pyms*, no *Hampdens*, no *Fiennes's*, no *Hollys's*, either for their Wisdom, Eloquence, or Estates. The Shallowness of our Politicians is now discover'd; the Mask is entirely pull'd off; and we bless Providence, we all see, that their Designs are not more notoriously Inveterate, than their Power is Contemptible.

—*simul effusus labor omnis, & ipsi.*

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

P Age 57. l. 19. read *thus*, at all the Sedition and Treason that has been every Day publish'd by *Non-jurors*. P. 68. l. 23. for furnish'd here with like Example, read furnish'd here with a like Example.

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Parallel. The Manner, at that time,
(as this learned Penitential) were
Men of great Height and Weight;
were as extraordinary in their Parts,
and Abilities, as in their Wickedness,
and Treachery: Never was there a
Set of Men, who shew'd more Art in
Speaking, more Judgment in Contri-
ving, or more Conduct in Executing
their Designs. God be thanked, they
have lost the Habits of those Talents:
We have now no Rites, no Mysteries,
no Tenets, no Holy's, either for their
Willow, Hypocrisy, or Envy. The
Splendours of our Politicians is now
discover'd; the Mask is entirely pull'd
off; and we bless Providence, we all
see, that their Designs are not more
notoriously Inevitable, than their Folly
is Contemptible.

—And often labor omnia vincit.

F I N I S

E R N L B

Printed by J. Smith, at the Sign of the Crown, in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1712.

